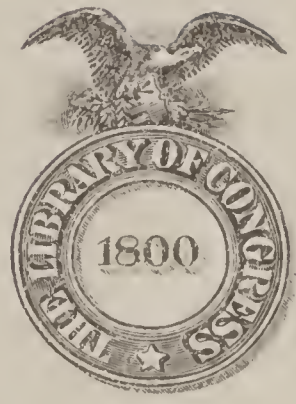
E
310
.876
FLM
2015
033482



Class E310

Book .S76

TWO

SERMONS,

ADDRESSED TO THE

Second Congregational Society in Newburyport,

Fast-Day, April 6, 1809.

BY SAMUEL SPRING, D.D.

AND A

LETTER,

ADDRESSED

BY THE REV. SOLOMON AIKEN, A.M.

Pastor of a Church in Dracutt,

TO THE

REV. SAMUEL SPRING, D.D.

Pastor of the Second Congregational Church

in Newburyport,

ON THE SUBJECT OF HIS SERMONS,

Delivered April the 6th, 1809.

1064
1280

Newburyport,

Printed for Subscribers,

BY W. & J. GILMAN,

Printers, Booksellers, and Stationers,

Middle-street....Sept. 1809.

E310
.S76

HOOG'S

TWO SERMONS,

ADDRESSED

To the Second Congregational Society in Newburyport,

Fast-Day, April 6, 1809....*By Samuel Spring, D. D.*

DEDICATION OF THE FIRST EDITION.

Christian Friends and Fellow Citizens,

YOUR prompt and generous subscription for the publication of these Discourses convinces me, that you are deeply impressed with the necessity of continuing wise and able exertions to secure our invaluable rights and privileges. As you manifestly approve the object of the discourses relating to public measures and the moral state of the union, they are, with confidence in your patronage, committed in their plain simple dress, hoping they will be useful to your children and others, who have not read more instructive publications. And to you, with liberty they are respectfully inscribed by your friend and humble servant,

THE AUTHOR.

Ezekiel xxvii. 26.

"Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters: the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas."

THE Prophet was not the subject of passive obedience and non-resistance. For God gave him his commission in these words; "Now, thou Son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyrus"; and he faithfully executed it, by openly blaming and condemning her rulers for their wrong and destructive measures. "Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas." The sentiments of the text are expressed in language highly metaphorical. The great waters, into which Tyre was carried by her pilots or rowers, were great public difficulties and perplexities, in which she was involved by the folly and baseness of her rulers. The term rowers and the phrase great waters were accommodated to the navigation of early times, when the vessels, which were managed by oars, resembled our shallow craft, and not modern ships of war, which whiten the sea with their canvas and glide over great and deep waters with majesty and safety. As Tyre was an island, which

commanded the most extensive and profitable commerce, she is compared in her sad state with a rich vessel, wrecked by the eastern gales, which in those seas proved the most destructive to navigation.

Having now before us the contents of the Prophet's message, stripped of metaphorical dress, I shall enquire whether our rulers have not too much resembled the rulers of Tyre. For, though we are not yet destroyed as a nation, it will, we presume, appear upon careful review and enquiry, that we have been brought near the margin of destruction; and notwithstanding any national measures, which have been adopted, yet stand trembling upon it. The event is future and we hope it will not be distressing.

A simple, solemn state of facts, will, we think, best answer the reasonable demand of the occasion before a mixed assembly. For the field has been amply explored, and the curtain of the national cabinet has been partly drawn, and some of the hidden motives of administration developed and exposed by our able statesmen, who have merited the thanks of the nation. They have on the left hand been hated and bitterly cursed by their political opposers, because they have told the truth, and of course exposed a system of deep intrigue and black deceit.

There are so many wheels within the modern wheel of the nation; so many ultimate and subordinate motives attached to the chief motive of administration, that it is not easy to give a clear, decided view of their system. But it is manifest, that ever since the late President returned from the French court with his head and heart full of the philosophy of "the enlightened nation," that he has been devoted to France and hostile to England. To account for this, we cannot but remark that he is destitute of martial skill and prowess, that he expected France would soon rule the world, and that it would be more safe and compatible with the feelings of southern men, who *must* rule the eastern states, and *retain* their slaves, and cannot easily endure much religious connexion, to take seasonable shelter under the spreading wing of the French Eagle. And to effect all this, France must have money, must rise and extend her influence far and wide; England must fall or bow, and the commerce of the eastern states, and the consequent strength of New-England must be greatly reduced. For so long as Old England and New England mutually support the interest of religion and commerce, France and

her American adherents cannot prevail. There was a time, not far distant, when the duped influence of the eastern states was on the point of going blindly into this awful vortex. Blessed be God our eyes are partly opened. We begin to see men as trees walking—we must now take care that our vision be not obscured, and that our hands be not palsied, nor our minds discouraged, by the loss of our commerce. For our energy and national influence will go with our morals, commerce and opulence. "Money is a defence;" but "the destruction of the poor is their poverty."

Leaving the motives of administration to be unfolded by time, we will now notice some of the adverse consequences of their late measures. The reduced state of our flourishing commerce may take the lead of the shrouded procession. For it is a productive cause of much public affliction and adversity. The partial repeal of the oppressive Embargo, in connexion with its substitute, is considered by wise men, who ponder the place of their steps, as a mere snare to commerce. For, though that empty chest of the nation may derive some needful supply by the measure, it is to be feared that young adventurous merchants will unhappily lose their property, and the nation be more reduced than ever. If our merchants, by the legal deception, lose more than the public chest gains, they will have reason to complain of being overreached and gulled by administration; and what upright man must not blush in such a case for our Legislators? To plead that merchants need not expose their interest in the waters of Holland, and other waters equally dubious and dangerous, will not excuse those who make danger by law; and tempt men by the vain hope of interest to run full sail into it. Till we have ample evidence that our rulers have quitted the servile project of aiding France by oppressing our commerce, we cannot consider any of their measures friendly to it, and consequently entertain more fear than hope relative to the partial repeal of the Embargo. If they have not suppressed commerce to aid France, and if they now desire the prosperity of eastern commerce upon friendly, patriotic principles, they would openly encourage it, and not embarrass it by any legal snare.

Making then no abatement of our calamity by the partial repeal of the Embargo, since we are embarrassed with its substitute, let me say, when we attend to the vast extent of our sea-coast in connexion with the depth of the adjacent

country, which God manifestly made to employ a commercial, active people; when we also review the dismantled, decaying state of our shipping; the wasting produce of our fertile lands lying in the barns of farmers and stores of merchants, without any prospect of market, we cannot but feel deeply affected with the depressed state of our commerce. For if our rulers had not been wedded to France and hostile to England, without reason, we might have been constantly employed in exporting and importing the riches of the world to great advantage. The original design of the British orders of Council, as well as other public documents sufficiently authorize this position. Our commerce received a mortal wound, because the great Emperor does not wish it to live. He approves the Embargo acts, because he or his handy agent dictated them, and expects national advantage. The present wretched state of New-England's interest is the very object at which our rulers aimed. They have thus far hit the mark. We were dormant long enough; and suffered them to advance very far in the devious course.

Another, though a mere consequence of the former evil, is national poverty, which begins to stare us in the face, and enter many of our habitations. What, alas! is the present state of our National Treasury—what are its prospects compared with what they were at the close of the federal administration? We have been told in a flattering, specious manner, by *a great man*, that there was a surplus of money in the treasury, which might be expended in repairing roads and educating youth—not we presume in religion. But the fact is this, that without a dry tax, which the people will not endure, the government cannot long be supported with national dignity. We are still much in debt as a nation, and as things are now managed, must plunge deeper and deeper into debt to discharge debt. Surely our rowers have brought us into deep waters indeed, where we must soon founder without the aid of able pilots. The French Legions have not yet crossed the ocean: though I believe the late President expected to realize their assistance before the expiration of his eight years residence in the capital. We have one of their Generals only with us: but no Prefect, as yet, in official form.

Passing the impoverished state of the nation, what is the condition of thousands of families and millions of individuals, who but lately were in comfortable circumstances! The hand of poverty has, I am informed, struck off one hundred men

.....

om this town's list who were legal voters last year. How flictive to them and their dear depressed families! This is t the beginning of the new and gloomy series. Many who e money cannot pay it at any rate: and others are so pressed, at they discharge their debts under every disadvantage to eir scanty property. Amid the multitude of creditors but w can get their property and many are obliged to lose it holly. This however is but a mere specimen of our de-ining state. The total amount of our loss is incalculable. There is another class of men, who in prosperous times, by heir labor, were able to obtain a comfortable support, but re now the real objects of charity. I need not mention the umber of this description in our sea-port and other sea-ports n the vicinity, nor the various beneficent measures, truly af-fecting, which have been devised in different places to repel hunger and afford daily relief and support. It is more bless-ed to give than to receive. Let their benefactors then con-inue to reap the superior advantage of their needful and wise-y appropriated liberality. For affluence is of no value except n use. The rust of riches will not answer at death and the great day, except as irresistible evidence against unfaithful stewards of God's property. While God supplies us, let us supply his poor, who have the memorial from his mercy. Added to the public expense, which has been necessary to prevent the pressing distress of thousands and thousands of the reduced inhabitants; who among us can estimate the real loss which we sustain, by the numerous legal meetings and conventions of the people, which have proved absolutely requisite to put a check, at least to the daring strides of administration in coincidence with the dominant views of France? For, though our Federal Representatives on the floor of Congress have done all that men could do by argument and address, we know, that if the people were not active and resolute, with great loss of time and interest, that we should now be awed, broken down and crushed by those troops of administration which were designed to enforce the embargo acts to the extent. It was the seasonable exertion of the people, which prevented the raising and organization of those armies, which were intended to still us by the sword and the loss of blood. Blessed be God, we do not see them and were they now organized they could not be quartered in New England. We have no room for their tents. The land will not hold them. I review the debility of administration to execute that enslav-

ing merciless purpose by the dread of arms, with thanks to God for rousing the spirit of the people, by the necessary though expensive measures, which were adopted by the people. If we had slept much longer France and administration would now smile and triumph over us in a haughty style. For we must believe that they intended to take away our strength by depriving us of our interest and depressing our spirits. But they are sadly disappointed for the present; because there is not, in consequence of the spirit of the people, who begin to open their eyes, sufficient national influence to execute those numerous, unfeeling, arbitrary acts. These petty armed vessels must go into the dignified retirement of the dry dock; for they never were calculated for national defence, and we fear were originally designed to embarrass our commerce and compel our submission, among other measures, to the will of France.

Further, the naked defenceless state of the nation is considered by wise men another instance of adversity which calls for lamentation. Those little shallow vessels, though built at great expense, we do not need any more than the distressing embargo; for they cannot even defend our rivers and harbours against a foreign enemy. But we need ships of war, and able, manly frigates. If we do not respect and arm ourselves like a nation of honor, how can we expect to be respected by potent nations? If we strip ourselves of influence, what nation will stop to clothe us? We have a small land army; but under the command of a General that the people will not trust a moment. We have a militia of great strength, but if *this President*, though I will yet hope better things, embrace the motives of his predecessor in the appointment of officers, the patriotic soldiers of New England and the other states, will not follow them, and cannot be compelled. They love their wives and children and parents. Public confidence in administration is on the wing; and what can be harmoniously effected without it against our enemies?

We have no naval force which does honor to the nation. Upon the water we are defenceless. But if a small portion of the interest we have lost, by the saving embargo, could be appropriated to the construction of a navy, we should be safe in our own waters, strong at sea, and respected by the nations. But now, for aught any provisions made for us by administration, we must, instead of that dignified retirement so much celebrated and anticipated, be compelled to remain, we can-

not tell how long, in a state of national indignity, sheer disgrace and intolerable contempt. Britain pities us, because she is too elevated and condescending to blame us. For she knows while we deprive ourselves of rich commerce, to gratify Napolean, by rejecting her offers, that a few battle ships might easily batter down and demolish our sea-ports and oblige us to fly to the mountains and back woods for safety. But she will not do it : It is not for her interest ; nor is it for our interest to provoke her much more, unless it be best to destroy ourselves by becoming tributary to France, like the nations of Europe, who must drag out their days in slavery and sorrow and oppression. How lamentable, how pitiful and disgraceful our national prostration ! If the departed spirit of Washington be permitted to visit us, he laments the hard calamity of Federalists, and returns, hoping that in the revolving state of sublunary things, we shall see better times. He knew Virginia, and gave us needful counsel, in what manner to escape approaching danger and national ruin. Our adverse condition, in being destitute of naval force, seeing we are designed by providence for a commercial people, is attended with peculiar aggravations. For previous to the embargo—I choose rather to say, previously to the impoverishing effects of the measures of administration, we were able to furnish and man a navy with facility. But public measures, in the course of eight years, have deprived us of a vast portion of our interest, probably, if good judges who have impartially attended to the subject, are correct, to the amount of *two hundred millions of dollars.** We have also lost many able seamen, who to prevent begging and starving, have shipped themselves on board foreign vessels and left the country. This is a heavy loss, whether they were naturalized, or Americans by birth. I am sensible that this instance of our adversity, like all others occasioned by the embargo, affects the hearts of *mad Democrats* like the adversity of the Spanish patriots. For the embargo was designed to prove a distressing rather than a saving, salutary measure. Those who put it on meant to keep it on, and without pity in their hearts or a tear in their eyes, did all they could to make the yoke more and more heavy and grievous by additional weights, till they were

* Those who are alarmed at the sum, are desired to take a candid review of facts, and calculate for their own satisfaction, and excuse us if we have either exceeded or not reached the correct mark of loss without gain.

absolutely forced to desist; and even then devised a different mode of operation to effect their original purpose, as we have much reason to fear. For the wisdom of the British Cabinet does not invest every master of a ship. Some commanders are rash men, who will offend. The temptation put in the way of indiscreet captains to kindle the flame of war between us and England, is greater than many people apprehend, if not too subtle to be administered by our administration. To avoid it, I hope our active men will not venture very far in the dark.

Though the national and political evils produced by the late measures of administration are great and oppressive, yet there is another evil more to be dreaded and deprecated than all the rest we have mentioned, or can be mentioned by men whose minds are better informed. It is infinitely more dangerous. I mean that demoralizing, deranging influence, which so much prevails, and like quick poison, pervades and seizes the vitals of the community. We need not be at great pains to support this position. The evidence presses upon us like the light of mid day. We know, that there is no rational motive to sin, and that no reason can be assigned for it in any circumstances whatever; yet one person is capable of leading another into that scene of temptation, which will prove fatal to his morals and his soul. Napolean, no more than Balak in the instance of Israel, was able to subdue America by his first measures, though the promised reward was flattering; yet by a method not very diverse from what was practised by Balaam, the servile instrument of the king of Moab, the Emperor has been strangely successful. We notice it on this day of humiliation, for a lamentation, that the morals of the people have been corrupted by public measures. The embargo laws have neither met the correct, enlightened dictates of conscience nor the constitution of the land. They interfere and shamefully clash with the general bond of union and with the guaranteed rights of individual states, and even in some sacred instances with common law. To adduce evidence of this, after the able address, remonstrance and memorial of our Legislature, is needless. Lamentable and obvious facts are these, that the termination of commerce with foreign nations, so unjust in its nature, so impolitic and distressing in its effects and operation, considering our circumstances and the embarrassed condition of necessary trade between one state and another, disaffected and enraged the merchants, put

a period to industry in our sea-ports, and reduced former laborers to a state of inevitable inactivity. Idleness was the consquence. Vices of various complexions succeeded of course to the great disadvantage of individuals, families and the community. For idleness is the fruitful mother of wicked customs and habits, which are so destructive to the best interest of men. Satan always takes his stand in the midst of the circle of human displeasure and idleness, and manages it to the injury of souls. It is his field of action.

There is another humiliating attitude of much iniquity occasioned by the system under review. We mean that deceit and dishonesty which are induced and indulged under unconstitutional acts and arbitrary laws, relating to toll, customs and revenue. For by the habit of evading arbitrary laws to save excise money, it becomes easy for many persons to qualify their consciences to evade righteous laws, who before such poisonous habits, would have trembled at the thought of defrauding the public chest. Arbitrary, unconstitutional acts we mark with *emphasis*, because they are direct temptations to iniquity. Men are naturally prone to sin, when there is no direct motive of advantage before them: but when they can blindly believe, as Adam did before he eat the apple, that there is interest to be secured without pains or by the least pains, they will attend. Righteous laws are in danger of being violated by the side of unrighteous ones, which men will disregard. To multiply even just rules beyond necessity is not wise, lest some of them be neglected, and a habit be formed to neglect others. Wise parents and wise rulers are, therefore, careful not to make even too many good rules. Surely, then, it must be unsafe indeed for rulers to multiply unjust laws, lest they induce their subjects to violate laws which ought to be obeyed, in consequence of being in the habit of disregarding those that ought not to be obeyed. It is dangerous even to pass the Rubicon of injustice established by law: for by doing this men learn to pass the Rubicon of justice. The way to ruin is broad and easy and full of the temptations of the moment. We should leave temptation at first sight, before we touch it, and it will never injure us any more than it did Joseph, Daniel and his three brethren at Babylon. In a word, while our rulers evidently mean to deprive Federalists, who are certainly the most valuable members of society, on many accounts, of any leading influence in national government; while they mean to deprive the eastern states of energy

by destroying their commerce, without which they cannot subsist, with a common share of comfort; while they make laws which are hostile to the Federal constitution and the constitution of individual states, to gender idleness, dishonesty, slander and falsehood without limits; while they do not expel duellists from the floor of Congress; while they approve horse-racing and other dissipated practices injurious to the cause of religion; and while they pay little or no respect to the Sabbath, or the divine inspiration of the scriptures, have we not much reason to make a deep lamentation for the moral state of the land? Alas! alas! America, what is thy moral state compared with what it was before the revolution? What compared with the religious state introduced and supported by our fore-fathers? How art thou fallen!

To make subjects moral, honest and upright, rulers must impress their consciences by righteous laws and exemplary conduct. For as is the fountain so will be the streams. As is the tree, so will be the branches and the fruit. In vain do we look for union and harmony, either of a civil or moral nature, while our rulers are fired with ambition and swayed by base partiality. The moral father of his subjects is the ruler approved by God, and admired by all good men. Their love is his authority. Their delight in his excellent qualities is his sceptre. They obey because they cannot endure the thought of offending him. "O Telemachus," said Mentor the sage, who was teaching him to be a good ruler, "fear God; this fear is the greatest treasure of the human heart; it comes attended by wisdom, justice, peace, joy, unmixed pleasures, real liberty, delightful abundance and spotless glory."

Lord, if national sins and abominations do not exceed the limits of thy gracious determination respecting the United States, let our administration be ever under the guidance of such a spirit. "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth, by clear shining after rain." Rulers of this description are not a terror to good works but to the evil; not a curse but a rich blessing to the people. Their memory will be embalmed by immortality.

[The Division of Service.]

IN the morning discourse, we attended to the gloomy state of our country, both in a political and moral view, produced directly by the partial, incorrect measures of administration. But since our rulers and their political associates are not the only offending members of the community, we must impartially view both Federalists and Democrats in one collected mass, and ascertain in what attitude we stand as a nation before God the author of our past prosperity and present adversity. "For thus saith the Lord, I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all these things. Shall a trumpet be blown in the city and the people not be afraid? Shall there be evil in the city and the Lord hath not done it?" The nation is manifestly in circumstances of adversity, and we are sure that the Lord is the author of it because we have sinned against him as a nation. For God is as just in afflicting public bodies as individuals. But he is as merciful as he is just. And "therefore now also saith the Lord, turn ye even to me with all your heart, and with fasting and with weeping and with mourning, and rend your heart and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil. Who knoweth if he will return and leave a blessing behind him—? Gather the people, sanctify the congregation—Let the priests the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar; and let them say, spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach that the heathen should rule over them? Wherefore should they say among the people where is their God?" But from this general review of the duties of the day we must attend to several particulars. And

1. Is it not manifest from our present condition as a nation, what we were while under a federal administration, a most prosperous nation as to our agricultural aud commercial interest? We ought not to infer this unless we have evidence to support it. But we ask, when did we as a nation obtain the opulence, the vast share of opulence, which we now possess, and the millions we have lost by our ruling attachment to France and hostility to England? The answer is this, the currents of wealth, which have flowed so plentifully in our favor, begun while the government was administered by Washington and Adams, notwithstanding they laboured under many

embarrassments to open them and keep them open. For no sooner were we crowned with independence, than the potent, envious nations, knowing our advantages to rise, attempted to take away the lustre of our crown, and to leave it naked and bare. But the unremitted exertions of those political Fathers of our country, while supported by able statesmen, in opposition to a growing faction, the numerous avenues of commerce were kept open and our opulence increased in a surprizing manner, till the late administration took the advantage and disposal of it into their own hands. When the late President came into office, the revenue was ample and the avenues opened by his predecessors were calculated to continue and increase it. Washington and Adams were the planters and sowers: but President Jefferson was the reaper. Administration have gathered the rich harvest. And where is it? Millions have gone one way and millions have gone another way and thousands another and hundreds another, if the sum be not too inconsiderable to be distinctly named, till we are like a naked tree stripped of her leaves and fruit by the frost; and are left destitute of national defence and now lie at the mercy of the potent nations. What they will do with us we cannot tell. For while we ought to be rich and powerful on the land and water, we are defenceless. And added to this complicated evil, we are like a contentious house divided against itself, which cannot stand. But why all this national evil? Has the Jeffersonian faction alone done all this? Have France and her American adherents effected this great evil, exclusively of the conduct of the other part of the nation? By no means: For God is just. And though this is not a state of strict and final retribution, yet it is according to the analogy of his dispensations to afflict and punish nations for national sins. The sacred history contains numerous instances of the nature. The Jews, to mention no other nation, who have long smarted for an admonition to others, under the divine displeasure, are now in their present dispersion over the face of the earth, God's living witnesses. Hence

2. We remark that the Americans for years past have manifestly been a nation of sinners with but few exceptions. For if our peerless prosperity had been noticed by national gratitude and humility, instead of having elated us in an extravagant manner, and been prostituted to the destructive purpose of dissipation, we could not in so short a time have been plunged, by a few factious, and partial men, into the gulph of

danger. Individuals in the midst of a nation, can effect no revolution, unless they avail themselves of the influence of the public by some concurrent means put into their hands. Great national changes cannot be effected without great national influence. And if this nation had not been devoted to riches, and intoxicated with prosperity, if we had not fostered the spirit of shew and parade, the sad monuments of which are now seen all over the country; if we had not been asleep as to the rectitude and abilities of men deputed to act as national legislators; if we had not, both directly and indirectly, concurred as towns and districts with the southern spirit, what could that faction have effected which has taken the lead of the nation? The rowers who have brought us into these great waters of national adversity, are the very men we as a nation have chosen to be our pilots. It requires no stretch of thought and reflection to see by what means or by what neglect of means we are now in this reduced state as a nation. We have sinned against God by misimproving our invaluable advantages of a civil nature. A great price has been put into our hands, but we have had no heart to improve it. We have lost our advantages by neglect. If we had seasonably taken care of our political ground and sowed it with proper seed, with wheat instead of tares and thistles, we might now be blessed with the prospect of a rich harvest. We are then now called to reflect on our wicked course of conduct as a nation, which has been the productive source of our adversity. For if we had been correct in a civil, political view only, if we had externally used and not abused our precious, inestimable favors, the rectitude of providence must have prevented these evils, which we now bitterly experience. For means and ends are connected. Providence is correct; God is just and righteous. It is the diligent hand that maketh rich, while idleness will originate want and distress. We ourselves have been the effective instruments of our trouble. For who is he that will harm us if we be followers of that which is good? But alas! we have not only been political sinners, without whom the federal government could not be pulled down, but we have been great sinners against God, the author of all our mercies. We have disregarded his precepts, we have violated his laws, we have slighted his Sabbath and ordinances, we have as a nation forsaken God who made us, and lightly esteemed the rock of our salvation. Self-gratification has been the object, and the degradation of the nation. I am no advocate, you know, for the

late oppressive and destructive measures of administration; and surely we can none of us advocate the conduct of the nation which has formed and so long supported such an administration. While we impeach those political offenders at the head of the nation, let us not pass silently by the body of the nation, which supports the head, nor pass by any of the members. For in vain do we suppose that the rulers of the people have brought these intolerable evils upon us without the concurring influence of their constituents. And in vain do we try to forget that God, the righteous governor of the universe, is not so ordering things in his providence, that the nation shall drink of the bitter national cup, which she has mingled. We are now reaping the real fruits of our national folly and wickedness. God who holds the balance of universal rectitude, in his hand, is now looking down upon us with displeasure and giving us in judgment a specimen of his wrath for our national sins. I will not say that some men do not deserve more than others; they undoubtedly do; and they, without seasonable repentance, will have their dreadful portion. But we none of us suffer so much as we deserve: nay, if the individuals, who compose the nation, were now to be treated according to desert, each one of us must be instantly separated from all natural, civil and moral advantages, and plunged into the pit of endless destruction. Our being so ripe for national ruin, as must be confessed according to the stubborn facts of the day, is full evidence that our national abominations have been very great indeed. But a few months since, administration expected, that by this time the people must be in a state of entire submission to their oppressive laws....And it is wonderful, seeing their measures have been so long dominant and successful, that they have not finally succeeded. How sinful then must have been the people, for God to suffer the nation to stand tottering on the verge of destruction! And how merciful to give us a little respite! How inexpressibly gracious to spare us longer and give us a space for repentance! What would be our condition, were we now at war with Britain and subjected to France! O children and posterity! we cannot but weep when we remember that we had almost left you slaves and ruined you by our sins. Think of it a moment, what would be the state of the church, if the nation were now actually under the direction of that butchering Emperor, who is ready to soak the earth with the blood of half the human race, rather than not subdue and rule the rest. His ambition

has no limits under the sun. Men are of no value in his view, while thirsting for empire, but to be ruled by his arm, or to be cut off by millions and millions to give him the palm of universal victory. Do you believe it, my hearers, that our administration have pledged their love, their confidence and exertions to such a bloody monster? Do you believe, whatever be the case now, that the nation was lately on the point of going directly into his hands, whose tender mercies are cruel? Do you also believe that God has been so angry with the nation, that he was about to make that emissary of darkness the dreadful instrument in his hand to punish the rulers and the people for their sins committed against his sacred majesty? You need not disbelieve. An affirmative answer we presume must be correct, however humiliating. Hence

3. Nothing less than our deep humiliation, genuine sorrow and repentance of sin, will correspond with the obligation of the day. The spiritual and temporal benefits and mercies, which God has conferred upon us, are innumerable like the sands, and they are great beyond our estimation. They are precious, because nothing less precious than the blood of Jesus which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel, procured them. Considering our national blessings, we especially ought to be that people whose God is the Lord. For no nation under heaven, since the revolution, has been so peculiarly favored as this nation. But we are guilty, very guilty for misimprovement of God's mercies. No one has leave to say, I am not the guilty person. No one is excepted. The sin of the nation in this connexion is not divisible: it cannot be divided. The whole collective weight of guilt lies, as it were, upon each individual. It is enough to sink us down to the lowest pit. But the mercy of God continues. We have still liberty to make our peace with him....What shall be done? We must be humble. We must feel our own littleness as creatures; and entertain just, though they will be inadequate, views of God's greatness and goodness. We must like worms of the earth lie prostrate before him and love to see him upon the throne of universal dominion. For angels and men, heaven and earth, and the whole universe are safe in his hand. No place better becomes man than the dust. There he may shine and there he does shine, if humble, like a jewel of peculiar brightness. Let me repeat it; there he must lie this day.

We must also mourn our sins, we must feel that sorrow on account of our transgressions, which is answerable to their de-

LETTER

Addressed by the Rev. SOLOMON AIKEN, *A.M. pastor of a Church in Dracutt, to the Rev.* SAMUEL SPRING, *D. D. pastor of the 2d Congregational Church in Newburyport, on the subject of his Sermons, delivered April 6th*, 1809.

——oooooooooo——

EVER ſince I have had the honor of a ſmall perſonal acquaintance with yourſelf, I have imbibed ſentiments of high eſteem and reſpect for you. I have been pleaſed and edified with your theological writings; with their logic, coolneſs and candour. I have lately been indulged with reading your Sermons delivered on the ſixth of April laſt, which were kindly handed to me by a gentleman of this town, of your political opinions. I have endeavored to peruſe them with candour and impartiality; but I was diſappointed beyond meaſure. I found not in them, your logic, perſpicuity, coolneſs or candour; but aſſertions made infinitely intereſting to our well being as a Nation, without a ſhadow of proof or argument to ſupport them. You muſt be ſenſible ſir, that very few in our nation have acquired that degree of public conſideration, as to gain general credence from their bare aſſertion upon any agitated political queſtion. I have not forgotten that you obſerve in page 4th, that "a ſimple, ſolemn ſtatement of facts, will, we think, beſt anſwer the reaſonable demands of the occaſion, before a mixed aſſembly." There is no doubt ſir, but ſome reaſons or corroborative obſervations ſhould have been highly pleaſing to your "mixed aſſembly," for we preach to rational beings, who ought to be governed by their own underſtandings; and it is our duty to endeavor to enlighten them. However it may have been with reſpect to your *mixed aſſembly;* you muſt remember that your Sermons have overleaped *its* bounds by your permiſſion; and have come abroad in view of the public, unclothed, naked and deſtitute of ſupport by reaſon or argument. Your Sermons boldly aſſert the higheſt treaſonable conduct in our late federal adminiſtration; and that, on the moſt deliberate, deſigning, criminal ground. I have for many years been a ſpectator of party rant, and inflammatory newſpaper declamation; proceeding as I verily believed, from unprincipled pens, and vitiated Editors; who diſregarded their reſponſibility; theſe I have regarded as ſuch, and they have not called my pen from its profeſſion. But your Sermons, from a gentleman of your information, of your reſponſibleneſs, of your reſpect, and fame in the Churches of Chriſt, aſtoniſh me beyond any political publication I have ever ſeen; I do not ſay confound me, for I have, or dream I have ſome remains of reaſon yet with me.

If in the ſequel I ſhould offer ſentiments which ſhould be proved incorrect, I rely on the candour of the public to pardon my fault, when I make the atonement of an open and public acknowledgment of my error. And when Sir, you ſhall bring into public view, arguments to ſupport your aſſertions, I will hold myſelf in readineſs to anſwer and confute them, or will acknowledge that I am your political diſciple. In page 4th, we

read "But it is manifeſt ever ſince the late Preſident returned from the French court, with his head and heart full of the Philoſophy of "The enlightened nation," that he has been devoted to France and hoſtile to England. To account for this we cannot but remark that he is deſtitute of martial ſkill and proweſs, that he expected France would ſoon rule the world, and that it would be more ſafe and compatible with the feelings of ſouthern men, who *muſt* rule the eaſtern ſtates, and *retain* their ſlaves, and cannot eaſily endure much religious connexion, to take ſeaſonable ſhelter under the ſpreading wing of the French Eagle. And to effect all this, France muſt have money, muſt riſe and extend her influence far and wide; England muſt fall or bow, and the commerce of the eaſtern ſtates, and the conſequent ſtrength of New-England muſt be greatly reduced. For ſo long as Old England and New-England mutually ſupport the intereſt of religion and commerce, France and her American adherents cannot prevail." Page 5th, "Till we have ample evidence that our rulers have quitted the ſervile project of aiding France by oppreſſing our commerce, we cannot conſider any of their meaſures friendly to it"—"For if our rulers had not been wedded to France and hoſtile to England, without reaſon, we might have been conſtantly employed in exporting and importing the riches of the world to great advantage," page 6th, "Our commerce received a mortal wound, becauſe the great Emperor does not wiſh it to live. He approves the Embargo acts, becauſe he or his handy agent dictated them, and expects national advantage. The preſent wretched ſtate of New-England's intereſt is the very object at which our rulers aimed. They have thus far hit the mark."

Page 9th, "For the Embargo was deſigned to prove a diſtreſſing rather than a ſaving, ſalutary meaſure. Thoſe who put it on meant to keep it on, and without pity in their hearts or a tear in their eyes, did all they could to make the yoke more and more heavy and grievous by additional weights, till they were abſolutely forced to deſiſt; and even then deviſed a different mode of operation to effect their original purpoſe, as we have much reaſon to fear."

Theſe, Sir, are ſome of the charges you are pleaſed to lay before the public againſt our late federal adminiſtration, with all the reſponſibility attached to your character, as a man, a citizen, and a Miniſter of Chriſt.

It is to be remembered, that a great majority of that adminiſtration compoſe a large majority of our preſent Congreſs; and that the preſent Preſident held the firſt and moſt important office in the power of Mr. Jefferſon to give, and was elected to the Preſidency, in view of his being of the ſame political ſentiments with Mr. Jefferſon, and heartily concurring with him in all his meaſures; ſo that your charges are as truly made againſt the preſent Preſident and Congreſs, as the one immediately preceding.

Theſe charges imply that our national Government are combined with a foreign Power, for the execution of ſome uninveſtigated project; for the accompliſhment of which "England muſt fall or bow," religion be diſcarded, and the commerce of the eaſtern States and the conſequent ſtrength of New-England muſt be greatly reduced. That the Embargo was for this purpoſe. That it was meant for a diſtreſſing rather than a ſaving ſalutary meaſure. That this diſtreſſed ſtate of New-England's intereſt, was the very object at which our rulers aimed, and that "They have thus far hit the mark."

Now, Sir, does not reaſon, religion and candour, require the plaineſt,

clearest, and most unequivocal evidence, before such weighty, important, and criminating charges be publicly made against the President and Congress of the United States? Your criminations would have been more happily timed, if our Congress had have received the sentence of Death for High Treason, and been in close confinement, reserved for the Scaffold, and you were justifying the sentence. Not the least shadow of proof nor the least circumstance indicative of their guilt, have you named. And surely, I do not feel myself under obligations to confront bare assertions but with them. Bring forth your strong reasons, they shall be attended to, the public good requires them; it seems we are in jeopardy by the treachery of our rulers.

The Embargo, you say, was designed for a distressing rather than a saving salutary measure; that it was on purpose to depress and weaken the eastern States; and for this purpose, that the southern men may rule. Your language is this, when speaking of the southern men in page 4th, "Who must rule the eastern States and retain their slaves."

Federal gentlemen and federal editors, have made a great outcry about the southern States having undue influence in the national Government, by reason of Slave, or Negro votes. But gentlemen of your information know, if federalists generally do not; that no act or resolve can become a law of the United States, without receiving the approbation of the Senate, which is composed of an equal representation from each State, so that the smallest States, Rhode-Island or Delaware, have as great a voice in the Senate (through which every law of the U. S. must pass) as Virginia or any other State. How then are we materially affected by, to use a federal term, "Slave votes?" And how are the southern men to rule over the eastern States by them? The southern States have their weight and influence in the House according to their population, reckoning five slaves to be equal to three freemen. The slaves, as they augment the population of the States, do also their congressional Representatives and Electors for President and Vice-President. But neither Virginia, nor either of the larger States has its voice in legislation according to its population, nor in choosing a President, when it happens to be referred to the House of Congress for a decision between different candidates, because each representation from the States has but one vote, so that there can be no more votes than States represented. How then is there an advantage given the southern to rule over the eastern States by retaining their Slaves?

It is manifest therefore, that the great cry about Virginia influence and southern men ruling the eastern States, is totally without foundation.

The Embargo, you represent, took place without any just reason; but to accomplish two subordinate ends as means to some hidden, unseen "Chief motive of administration," in conformity to the wishes of the great Emperor. These appear to be the ends; to destroy religion and reduce the New-England States. Page 4th, you say, "For so long as Old-England and New-England mutually support the interest of religion and commere, France and her American adherents cannot prevail," and page 6th, you again say, "For if our rulers had not been wedded to France and hostile to England, without reason, we might have been constantly employed in exporting and importing the riches of the world to great advantage." Then you add, page 6th, "Our commerce received a mortal wound, because the great Emperor does not wish it to live."

.....

You evidently have reference to the Embargo as the mortal wound of our commerce. If there were ſufficient reaſons for the Embargo, all that you have ſaid concerning it, is without foundation. And there were highly ſufficient reaſons for it, is apparent from the orders England and the decrees of France, affecting materially our commerce and navigating the ocean. You acknowledge and aſſert, page 14th, that, "No ſooner were we crowned with independence, than the potent envious nations knowing our advantages to riſe, attempted to take away the luſtre of our crown and to leave it naked and bare." This, Sir, is a precious confeſſion of yours, and is highly worthy of conſideration in the preſent political controverſy in our land. No ſooner were we crowned with independence than the envious potent nations attempted to ſtrip us of our crown of independence, and render us dependent on them. You will do the public an important ſervice, if you will be ſo good as to tell them when "the envious potent nations," ceaſed their attempts to ſtrip us of our crown of independence. It ſeems they did not ceaſe during the time of Waſhington's or Adams' adminiſtration, for you ſay, page 14th, "By the unremitting exertions of thoſe political Fathers of our country—the numerous avenues of commerce were kept open." The connexion of your obſervations ſeems to repreſent that the method the potent nations took to ſtrip us of our crown of independence, was, to render us dependent on them in our commerce; but in this under the former adminiſtrations they were oppoſed "By unremitting exertions." Did thoſe potent nations ceaſe their attempts to render us dependent on them when Mr. Jefferſon became Preſident? Surely no; but there were redoubled attempts both in England and France to ſtrip us of our crown of independence; ſuch exertions as Preſident Waſhington or Adams never experienced.

It was, as if a plan were concerted by both of thoſe potent powers, by mutual conſent and counſel to ſtrip us of our independence. England orders, that if we attempt to go to the ports on the eaſtern Continent, with few exceptions, without calling at one of her ports, paying tribute and buying a licenſe from her, our veſſel and cargo are a lawful prize. France decrees, that every veſſel ſubmitting to thoſe orders, are a lawful prize to her. What could our government do in this predicament? Would you have had them ſubmit to the arbitrary orders of England, and riſk all the loſſes they might experience from France; and "Export and import the riches of the world, to and from England alone, as ſhe ſolely might ſee fit to direct? Would you be willing our Government ſhould yield up the crown of our independence to ſuch unprecedented orders and decrees, which aſſume the regulation of the trade of neutral nations? In addition to thoſe orders and decrees, a Proclamation was then iſſued from his Britannic majeſty calling home from foreign Nations, all his natural born ſubjects, and eſpecially ſeamen, in whatever part of the world. And giving the commanding officers of his armed ſhips, orders by force to take ſuch wherever they might be found, notwithſtanding any letters patent of naturalization. A thing totally unprecedented; rendering the naturalization laws of other nations null and void.

Would you, Sir, have wiſhed our rulers patiently to have ſubmitted to all this; to theſe redoubled and enforced orders of his majeſty; when his marine officers were already in the habit of impreſſing our fellow Citizens, and carrying them by force on board their armed veſſels, ſo as

to retain thouſands of them, in a more hopeleſs than an Algerine bondage? Did Waſhington or Adams ever experience aggreſſions in the [illegible] of their adminiſtration as Jefferſon did in his? And add the Britiſh murder of Pierce, and the attack on the Cheſapeake, and the French [illegible]ning our veſſels. At what period of time did theſe "potent nations" ever exert themſelves as if combined for the purpoſe of ſtripping us of our Crown of Independence, more than in Mr. Jefferſon's adminiſtration? However much theſe nations may be at enmity with each other, in view of [illegible]ther objects, for them thus to combine againſt our commerce, to ſtrip us of our independence, lay us under a heavy tribute, deprive us of our commercial rights, the rights which we have in common with all nations for navigating the ſeas, were circumſtances rendering the Embargo imperiouſly neceſſary, if we chooſe not ſervilely to ſubmit, nor put ourſelves in a hoſtile attitude againſt thoſe nations.

So concerted were the meaſures of England and France, that what of our commerce the caterpillar left, the canker-worm would deſtroy. So that there was highly ſufficient and juſtifiable ground for our government to lay and enforce the Embargo, till other meaſures for our relief ſhould be adopted, without imputing to them any criminal motives, for the depreſſion of the New-England States in accordance with the wiſhes of the French Emperor. Our foreign relations were a ſufficient occaſion for the Embargo, and all that we have ſuffered in conſequence of it, except that ſeditious oppoſition our Rulers have experienced in their ſalutary meaſures. So that "Surely our rowers have" NOT "brought us into deep waters indeed," or national difficulties; but it was the rowers of England and France, in their hoſtile meaſures againſt us. And our rowers or pilots have managed our national Bark, with admirable firmneſs and ſkill in the ſtorm, and kept it from being broken with the eaſt wind, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they have met with from thouſands on board, who have exerted themſelves with all their might to thwart, counteract, and render vain the ſalutary meaſures they adopted. The event has proved the meaſure to be ſalutary and efficacious. Our "Dignified Retirement" was a defence for our national rights of more efficacy than an hundred ſhips of the line would have been. Never did our nation appear with more ſtrength and dignity than it now does; and all the "National indignity, ſheer diſgrace, and intolerable contempt," attached to it, which you ſpeak of, ariſes from that barefaced, impudent, unbluſhing oppoſition the meaſures of our government have met with from our own citizens. Gentlemen perhaps with you would have had our government ſubmitted to the orders of England, if not the decrees of France, and have given up our crown of independence, and have "Been conſtantly employed in exporting and importing the riches of the world," to and from England alone, or as ſhe in her "pity" might direct; and thus live upon our old mother again. Then let us cry ever ſo much for ſolid meat, we ſhould receive but a box or two on the ear and be huſhed down to the breaſt, in the manner ſhe ſhould be pleaſed to give it. That gentlemen who have had more than thirty years experience in providing for themſelves, and have grown rich and lived upon ſubſtantial food (if they have met with ſome loſſes) ſhould not be weaned from the breaſt of their old mother, but hanker after it ſtill (although ſhe may be ſomewhat ſond of them) is ſtrangely ridiculous.

Another circumſtance, which you notice as a ſubject of lamentation, is

the impoveriſhed ſtate of the country, page 6th, "What alas is the preſent ſtate of our national treaſury ?—The fact is that without a dry tax which the people will not endure, the government cannot long be ſupported with national dignity." Perhaps, Sir, you have learnt from experience under a former adminiſtration, that the people made ſome objections to a dry tax in time of peace; but is it beſt to tell them they will not endure it, when it ſhall become neceſſary ?

With reſpect to the national Treaſury, or its "empty cheſt," I truſt Sir, that you have not attended to the official reports made to Congreſs every ſeſſion by the Secretary of the Treaſury, giving a ſtate of it to the exactneſs of a cent; the different ſources from whence the monies were received, the various ſums expended, in connexion with the objects for which appropriations were made; with what remained in the Treaſury for the time being; together with the proſpect of revenue for the following year.—Theſe ſhow that when Mr. Jefferſon came into office there were then in the Treaſury leſs than three millions of dollars. When he left the office of Preſident, after defraying the annual expenditures, and paying more than thirty millions of the principal of the national debt, beſides the intereſt, there were remaining in the Treaſury more than fourteen millions of dollars. So that Mr. Jefferſon left the Treaſury more than eleven million of dollars better than he found it beſides diminiſhing the public debt, in the principal after paying the intereſt, more than thirty millions of dollars. All this in eight years adminiſtration.

Which ſurely affords no great cauſe of lamentation, except it be on the ground of the federal maxim, that a public debt is a public bleſſing. And with reſpect to the correctneſs of thoſe reports, I have never heard a word of objection made by any member of Congreſs, not even by thoſe able Stateſmen as you call them, who have ſo amply explored the field, and developed and expoſed "Some of the hidden motives of adminiſtration." But if you be indulged with more correct ſtatements, with reſpect to the ſituation of the national Treaſury, from ſome ſecret communications, it would be highly deſirable that you lay them before the public, if there be no confidential circumſtance to prevent. Or at leaſt, put your finger upon thoſe reports, and point out their error; or ſhow where money has been appropriated not accounted for in them.

Your bare declaration that millions have been ſquandered away in one place and millions in another and ſmaller ſums elſewhere, in thoſe general terms in which you couch them, is *not believed.* Let your "Able ſtateſmen" point it out, we are ready to hear them.

But could we realiſe that loſs, added to the treaſury which you ſpeak of as being ſuſtained by the ſaving Embargo, we ſhould be rich in fact; for page 8th, you ſay, "But if a ſmall portion of the intereſt we have loſt, by the ſaving Embargo, could be appropriated to the conſtruction of a navy, we ſhould be ſafe in our own waters, ſtrong at ſea, and reſpected by the nations." But ſir, are you correct in this ſtatement ? May I not take the liberty to ſuſpect that it is *rather* exaggerated ? Strong, you know, is a comparative term, and is viewed in relation to the force in oppoſition. For us therefore to be "ſtrong at ſea," we muſt be able to cope with our enemies; with the naval force of Great Britain and France.

We cannot be ſaid to "be ſtrong at ſea," except we may probably defend ourſelves againſt our enemies at ſea. Now to ſtrengthen us againſt the great naval force of England, according to your declaration we only

need "a ſmall portion of the intereſt we have loſt by the ſaving embargo" to "be appropriated to the conſtruction of a navy, we ſhould be ſafe in our own waters, ſtrong at ſea, and reſpected by the nations." Small, is another comparative term, and ſurely muſt be conſidered leſs than half. The whole loſs of the Embargo cannot be eſtimated with propriety, at more than our revenue in the ſpace of eighteen months, or the time of its continuance, except you would reckon ſome loſt time of our ſeamen, and time and money ſpent in factious meetings and conventions; but would a ſmall portion of this, with whatever further addition you may be pleaſed to make, render us ſtrong at ſea, to withſtand the naval force of the Britiſh nation, when it now conſiſts of the labours of France, Spain and Denmark, in conjunction with her own, for years, if not centuries? Your calculation is ſo exaggerated and chimerical, as to have no weight in the mind of any perſon of common conſideration. If you had brought into your calculation, in addition to that of the embargo, your whole ſuppoſed loſs in Mr. Jefferſon's eight years adminiſtration, it would have been quite an addition to your contemplated Navy. For you ſay, page 9th, "But public meaſures, in the courſe of eight years, have deprived us of a vaſt portion of our intereſt, probably, if good judges who have impartially attended to the ſubject be correct, to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars."

Your informants ſir, however impartial, are very incorrect. The fact is, that in no equal period of time did we as a nation, make ſuch advances in wealth, as under Mr. Jefferſon's adminiſtration. The official reports of the Secretary of the Treaſury from year to year, giving a ſtate of the Treaſury, prove this poſition to be correct. Is it neceſſary to repeat, that Mr. Jefferſon found ſhort of three millions of dollars in the Treaſury when he came into office as Preſident. That he relinquiſhed the whole ſyſtem of internal taxation; this is within the recollection of our young men. That he has paid the current expences of government annually, that he has diſcharged the whole of the intereſt of the public debt; and paid more than thirty millions of Dollars of the principal, and left more than fourteen millions of Dollars in the Treaſury, at the termination of his Preſidency. How is it poſſible for gentlemen to talk as you do, with reſpect to the ſtate of the national Treaſury, without pointing out the incorrectneſs of public documents? And what poſſible motive have they in view, and what credit can they flatter themſelves they ſhall gain in the eſtimation of the public, who conſtantly have their eyes on thoſe documents? You ſpeak of monies' being ſquandered away, Millions in one place, and Millions in another, &c. Perhaps you may think with your federal brethren that the purchaſe money of Louiſiana was ſquandered away for a barren and uſeleſs wilderneſs. It is deſirable that gentlemen ſhould be conſiſtent. When the depoſit at New-Orleans was withheld, your "Wiſe Stateſmen" and federal gentlemen in Congreſs viewed the ſingle port at New-Orleans of more conſequence to the United States, than all the ſeaports north of Boſton; as being the only outlet to that vaſt territory bordering on the eaſt bank of the Miſſiſippi; that nature and nature's God had deſigned it to belong to the United States. And they urged it in Congreſs, immediately to raiſe an army of fifty thouſand and take it by force. Thus would they have gone into a war with Spain, and conſequently, at that time, with France, only for their chance of gaining New-Orleans. But the wiſdom and good policy of the peace-maker

ſignificant of a Child of God, conceived and executed the project of obtaining by fair purchaſe, not only the city and depoſit of New-Orleans, but that vaſtly extended territory weſt of the Miſſiſippi to the Ocean. Yet no ſooner was it given into the poſſeſſion of the United States, without the ſhedding of blood, but with ceremony, parade, and convivity between the two nations, than it became immediately in the view of federal gentlemen an uſeleſs barren wilderneſs, and the purchaſe money ſquandered away. Not to enlarge upon the benefit of that purchaſe to the U. States, and the ſource of wealth the territory (aſide the depoſit) will be to the public cheſt, I am aſtoniſhed that truth and ſelf-conſiſtency ſhould not forever render federal gentlemen confoundedly aſhamed ever to ſpeak againſt it; it muſt be becauſe they are beyond bluſhing. Conſiſtency is a Diamond.

Another evil you ſpeak of as a matter of lamentation, is, the ſucceſs of a demoralizing Syſtem artfully practiſed againſt us. You ſay, page 10th, "Though the national and political evils produced by the late meaſures of adminiſtration, are great and oppreſſive, yet there is another evil more to be dreaded and deprecated than all the reſt we have mentioned, or can be mentioned by men whoſe minds are better informed. I mean that demoralizing, deranging influence, which ſo much prevails." You ſay, "Napoleon, no more than Balak in the inſtance of Iſrael, was able to ſubdue America by his firſt meaſures, though the promiſed reward was flattering; yet by a method not very diverſe from what was practiſed by Balaam the ſervile inſtrument of the King of Moab, the Emperor has been ſtrangely ſucceſsful."——What the firſt meaſures of Napoleon were, you have not been ſo kind as to ſuggeſt; nor what his flattering reward.

The hiſtory you allude to is evidently this, in the moſt conciſe relation of it. When the Iſraelites were on their journey from Egypt to Canaan, the Prince of Moab called one of his Prieſts to curſe Iſrael; not ſucceeding therein, as the Prieſt Balaam declared that he could not curſe whom God had bleſſed. But Balaam, knowing how the God of Iſrael had ſeverely, and that repeatedly, puniſhed his people for idolatry, adviſed Balak his Prince, to introduce a number of his fair young women into the camp of Iſrael, to attract the attention of the men of Iſrael, and then lead them on to worſhip the gods of Moab, that Iſrael's God might bring a curſe upon them. Which ſtratagem ſtrangely ſucceeded, and Iſrael experienced the curſe. And you ſay, "Yet by a method not very diverſe from what was practiſed by Balaam—the Emperor has been ſtrangely ſucceſsful." "We notice it on this day of humiliation, for a lamentation, that the morals of the people have been corrupted by public meaſures." Your illuſtration of the ſtratagem of Napoleon to corrupt the morals of our nation, in a great degree correſponding with that of Balaam, is contained in the 10th and 11th pages of your Sermons. A conciſe view of it, is this, according to your repreſentation: The Embargo anſwered one ultimate end, to the chief or laſt motive which Napoleon and adminiſtration had in view, to accompliſh their unknown and laſt motive, (viz.) to corrupt the morals of the people, and this from two circumſtances as ſources of temptations. 1ſt, That the Embargo might place our merchants and ſeamen, with diſcontent on idle ground, where Satan always ſtands ready with his temptations to take advantage of the favorable poſition. 2dly, By enacting illegal, unconſtitutional and oppreſſive laws, to carry the Embargo into effect, that the con-

ſcience which hath not been accuſtomed to treſpaſs, may on the account of their unconſtitutionality and oppreſſion, be induced to violate them, and thereby grow into a habit of diſregarding thoſe wholeſome laws which are for the good order, peace, and happineſs of ſociety. In this method you ſay "the Emperor has been ſtrangely ſucceſsful." In this ſtratagem for the corruption of the morals of the people, to the intent that God may afflict them; it ſeems by what you ſay, that our late adminiſtration was in perfect coincidence with Napoleon, who invented the deep laid plan.

But, Sir, however correctly experience may have proved in the courſe of events, this effect upon the morals of the people; I am greatly apprehenſive that your own invention in a poſterior manner, ſyſtemized the plan. It ſeems more congenial to a gentleman of your profeſſion, or that of Balaam, a Prieſt of Balak, than to a military or political character, ſuch as Napoleon or Jefferſon. However, if it be not an invention of your own, but theirs, it will prove an important truth which, perhaps, you may be unwilling to grant, (viz.) that Napoleon and Jefferſon have an high ſenſe of moral obligation, and the importance of religion and morality in theory at leaſt; or they would never lay temptations in the way of a people to ſin, that God might afflict, puniſh, and weaken them.

Religion, you repreſent as being an object of deteſtation and deſtruction for our late adminiſtration. Page 4th, you ſay, "The ſouthern men cannot eaſily endure much religious connection—For ſo long as Old England and New England mutually ſupport the intereſt of religion and commerce, France and her American adherents cannot prevail." And you, having in view Mr. Jefferſon's ſpeech to Congreſs, ſay, "We have been told in a flattering ſpecious manner, by *a great man*, that there was a ſurplus of money in the Treaſury, which might be expended in repairing roads and educating youth." You add, "not we preſume in religion."

In the 11th and 12th pages you charge Congreſs as a body, with a catalogue of crimes, which if known to be true, would create peculiar diſguſt in every ſerious mind. I am not diſpoſed to ſay that our rulers are not in common wicked with others; but that they are not ſinners above all men. I am apprehenſive that it would be difficult in this degenerate age of the world, to collect ſuch a number of men as compoſe our national Legiſlature, and have them all really pious, if they were ſelected from the moſt ſacred ſtations on earth. I am not inſenſible, Sir, that from the time Mr. Jefferſon was ſeriouſly conſidered a candidate for the Preſidency, that religion, *Religion*, was brought out, tackled, and improved as a political Hobby Horſe; and that thoſe who have mounted him with the trumpet of detraction, defamation, and ſlander, have carried the mark of the beaſt in their forehead. Whether Mr. Jefferſon be a man of real piety or an infidel, I know not. I am informed that he is a conſtant attendant on public worſhip, when in his opinion it is performed with decency; and that he liberally contributes to the ſupport of the public worſhip of God. I have no evidence of his infidelity in any of his writings, nor from any other quarter which ſhould ſatisfy a candid mind; and I ſhall preſume you have not until it be produced. And why Mr. Jefferſon ſhould be made a mark againſt which ſhould be levelled all the arrows of detraction, perhaps is difficult to ſay, unleſs it be his known and unalterable attachment to a repreſentative form of civil Government, and his able and unanſwerable defence of religious liberty; and expoſing

the abſurdity of human laws binding and directing the faith of mankind. But let his infidelity be granted, (which however lacks proof,) and if it has been, or ſhall hereafter be a public injury to religion, and vitiate the mind of any, it is on the ground of its being known. What infatuated policy, therefore, could influence any friend of religion and morality, to proclaim it upon the houſe-top; to inſiſt upon it in large public aſſemblies and to publiſh it in newſpapers through the Union? And all this with a zeal ready to accuſe thoſe of ſtupidity who are ſlow to believe it. But for this, how few would have known it, and how ſhould thoſe who were ignorant of it, be injured by it? Is any man ſo ſtupid as to think that he ſhall make men believers, by telling them that Mr. Jefferſon is an unbeliever? Can any rational perſon perſuade himſelf, that it is a good argument to make mankind believe a certain propoſition, by convincing them that Mr. Jefferſon does not believe it? Is this man, famed in Europe and America, as a ſcholar, philoſopher and civilian, to be made a negative, and things to be believed becauſe he diſbelieves them? Mr. Jefferſon, who after ſerving his country four years in the higheſt and moſt important truſt our nation could commit to him, was choſen by them Preſident a ſecond term, by a vaſtly increaſed majority; and no doubt would have been choſen by them again, if he had not declined the important office; is he the man above all to be receded from in point of belief? Directly the reverſe the language of reaſon declares. This character will have its influence where it is known. Gentlemen, therefore, who have proclaimed the infidel part of it, if any ſuch there be, may attach all the baleful influence of it to themſelves; and confeſs that if they have done it with a zeal for Religion, it was a zeal not according to knowledge, and therefore a mark of the beaſt.

But Religion is out of the queſtion. Thoſe gentlemen have had their heads and hearts filled with politics, who have ſlandered public characters. The practice is totally contrary to the ſpirit and policy of chriſtianity, and never was deſigned to anſwer a religious, but a political purpoſe.

Amongſt the ſins of Congreſs, which you take notice of, page 12th, you name this, "They do not expel duelliſts from the floor of Congreſs." I propoſe a ſimple queſtion, Sir, for your ſolution. Suppoſe the late Mr. Hamilton were alive and a member of Congreſs, with his former political and moral ſentiments, as he was an acknowledged duelliſt and adulterer; would you and your federal brethren wiſh him to be expelled from the floor of the Houſe? According to your ſentiment, an affirmative anſwer is correct. Then another queſtion follows. How is this ſentiment conſiſtent with the conduct of thoſe gentlemen towards his memory? For although Mr. Hamilton fell and died in the act of duelling; federal gentlemen, with their Miniſters, could form a funeral proceſſion in honorable remembrance of him. And have ſince in their convivial meetings, annually and honorably toaſted his memory. And even in Newburyport, magiſtrates, clergymen, ſelectmen, &c. It is hopeful you were not preſent with them, you will tell them better. Conſiſtency is precious.

Page 14th, you ſay, "When the late Preſident came into office, the revenue was ample, and the avenues opened by his predeceſſors were calculated to continue and increaſe it. Waſhington and Adams were the planters and ſowers: but Preſident Jefferſon was the reaper. Adminiſtration have gathered the rich harveſt." Under the adminiſtrations of Waſhington and Adams, Mr. Jefferſon had his influence in keeping open "The

numerous avenues of commerce," and was conſidered one, if not the foremoſt of their "able ſtateſmen." Let it be true that Waſhington and Adams were the ſowers and planters, as it reſpected the ſyſtem of internal taxation; for it began under Waſhington's adminiſtration and was greatly extended under Mr. Adams'. So that when Mr. Jefferſon came into office, he found a large field of taxation, richly ſown and planted, with a Land tax a Houſe tax, a tax on Stamps, Carriages, Refineries, Stills, &c. But conceiving the ſyſtem unneceſſary in time of peace, lopped it at a ſtroke; and all the rich harveſt in view, remained in the hands of the people. "Preſident Jefferſon" therefore "was" NOT "the reaper. Adminiſtration have" NOT "gathered the rich harveſt." The numerous avenues of commerce were kept open the firſt ſix and an half years of Mr. Jefferſon's adminiſtration, to his joy and ſatisfaction. Then to his grief they were cloſed by "the envious potent nations;" by the orders of England and the decrees of France; not ſo, however, as to impoveriſh us as a nation; for in page 13th, your language is, "But we aſk, when did we as a nation obtain the opulence, the *vaſt ſhare of opulence* which we *now poſſeſs.*" Then in page 14th, you ſay, "We are like a naked tree ſtripped of her leaves and fruit by the froſt."

I truſt, Sir, you will not require me to reconcile theſe poſitions, which within the compaſs of a few lines place our country, in the ſame ſenſe, in a ſtate of vaſt opulence and great indigence! You add, "And are left deſtitute of national defence, and now lie at the mercy of the potent nations. What they will do with us we cannot tell." But why Sir, do you deſpond in writing but a few pages? Turn back to your 9th page, and diſmiſs your fears; for there you ſay, "Britain pities us, becauſe ſhe is too elevated and condeſcending to blame us. For ſhe knows that a few battle ſhips might eaſily batter down and demoliſh our ſeaports, and oblige us to fly to the mountains and back woods for ſafety. But ſhe will not do it, it is not for her intereſt." Thus there is no danger it ſeems, from Britain, one of the potent nations. And what injury can we receive from France, as long as "Britain pities us, becauſe ſhe is too elevated and condeſcending to blame us," and it is not for her intereſt to injure us in our ſeaports. Then ſurely we have the pity, condeſcenſion, and intereſt of Britain for our protection, which, no doubt, would put in action her naval force for our defence. Let us be condeſcending alſo, truſt our protection to Britain, and caſt our fears behind us.

In page 6th, you ſay, "The French legions have not yet croſſed the ocean; though I believe the late Preſident expected to realize their aſſiſtance before the expiration of his eight years reſidence in the capital," "We have one of their generals only with us." Perhaps you have referrence to Moreau, as one of their generals, who has fled for his life, from the preſence and power of the perſecuting Emperor. This is timely notice!

I recollect that in the days of the ocean maſſacre, tub-plot, and Taylor-plot, there was a talk about a French army's coming here. But I ſuppoſed them all flying ſtories, ſent out to prevent Mr. Jefferſon from being elected to the Preſidency. And ſince that, I have heard nothing about the French Army; but ſuppoſed the ſtory pretty much forgotten; yet it ſeems you keep it up in your Sermons. I gueſs, Sir, however, the late Preſident has given over his proſpect of receiving a French army to his aſſiſtance, for the accompliſhment of that univeſtigated, undeſcribable "chief motive of adminiſtration." He muſt view it as an un-

timely birth, which is forbidden to see the light; or probably he would not have declined being again considered a candidate for the Presidency, with so fair and certain a prospect as that he had of success. But how did the late President imagine the "French legions" would have crossed the ocean? He has for a long time been apprized of the destruction of the French Navy. The Emperor hath not a Navy sufficient to transport any considerable number of his legions. And besides this, it would be difficult for him to steal a march upon England who "pities us;" her vigilant eye would detect him, and her strength make him a prey. Did the President, "being destitute of martial skill and prowess," imagine those "French legions" would cross the ocean in a firm well constructed air-balloon, sufficient to bring their baggage and provisions by the way, their cavalry and artillery? But perhaps the President expected to supply those Legions on their arrival, with ammunition, cavalry, artillery, &c. which would greatly lighten their aerial voyage.

However, Sir, I confidently expect, all circumstances considered, the late President by this time, has totally relinquished all expectation of the arrival of any French legions to his assistance; so that the hearts of the people may be at rest, and they dismiss their fears.

In this connexion I cannot but remember your heart-felt lamentation over children and posterity; seeing there are so many insuperable difficulties in the way of Napoleon's and Mr. Jefferson's purposes, and the accomplishment of the "chief motive of administration."

It is thought your address to posterity, in page 16th, whether your object were to delineate the truth, or fright women and children, would have been as applicable in the following form, with a variation only of your object of terror. "O children and posterity! we cannot but weep when we remember that we had almost left you slaves and ruined you by our sins. Think of it a moment, what would be the state of the Church, if the nation were now actually under the direction" of those butchering savage tribes, who are the inhabitants of the newly purchased, useless and barren wilderness; who are ready "to soak the earth with the blood of half the human race, rather than not" retain their hunting ground. Their "ambition has no limits under the sun. Men are of no value in" their "view while thirsting for" revenge.

They are awful creatures, of a sable complexion, a slender agile stature. They have a small black eye, indicative of caution and revenge. They are half clothed; armed with tomahawks and scalping knives which Mr. Jefferson has provided for them with money out of the public chest; the appropriation of which was granted by Congress for the very purpose of butchering you. These monsters of the wilderness are clothed from the knee and downwards, with red, blue or green spatterdashes, all bespangled with variegated colors of wampum, and in a terrific manner adorned with little glass beads of every hue, and Porcupine-Quills. "Do you believe it my hearers, that administration have pledged their love, their confidence, to" those bloody monsters? "Do you believe, whatever be the case now, that the nation was on the point of going directly into" their "hands, whose tender mercies are cruel? Do you also believe that God has been so angry with the nation, that he was about to make" these "emissaries of darkness the dreadful instrument in his hand, to punish the rulers and the people for the sins committed against his sa-

cred majeſty? You need not diſbelieve. An affirmative anſwer muſt be correct, however humiliating."

Page 11th, you obſerve, "In a word, while our rulers evidently mean to deprive Federaliſts, who are certainly the moſt valuable members of ſociety on many accounts, of any leading influence in national government." If, ſir, you ſhould poſſeſs a little partiality towards the Federaliſts, it might eaſily be accounted for, as we are always inclined to think favourably of our own. This was the ſentiment the tories poſſeſſed towards their party in the time of our revolutionary conteſt with England. This alſo was the ſentiment the Phariſees, who were rejecters of Chriſt, felt towards their party, when God was manifeſt in the fleſh: they ſaid, *Have any of the rulers or of the Phariſees believed on him? But this people who knoweth not the law are curſed.* I wiſh to make no invidious compariſon between the valuableneſs of Federaliſts and Republicans to ſociety. Federaliſts may boaſt of having on their part, the remains of the ancient Tories, and their ſons principally, many merchants and lawyers with their dependants; together with Britiſh emiſſaries, idle Bank hawkers and ſpeculators: and, I am ſorry to concede, their proportion of Miniſters.

You ſpeak of the former adminiſtration as being a faction, and with the ſame propriety you may thus term the preſent, as they moſtly are the ſame men, holding their offices in the ſame manner. When ſpeaking of Waſhington and Adams, in page 14th, you ſay, "While ſupported by able ſtateſmen, in oppoſition to a growing faction." In page 14, "Has the Jefferſonian faction alone done all this?" Page 14, "By a few factious, partial men." With what propriety of language or thought do you call the legitimate government of the United States a "faction?" This term is always ſignificant of a diſcontented minority, uſing unlawful means to ſow diſcord in ſociety. For you to call the government of the United States, and that great majority of the people, who conſtitutionally choſe them to office, with a unanimity of eight in ten, if not eighteen in twenty, a "faction," is truly ſurpriſing. That the government was ſupported by the people, you grant. Page 15th, "If we had not, both directly and indirectly, concurred as towns and diſtricts with the ſouthern ſpirit, what could that faction have effected which has taken the lead of the nation?" And page 16th, "While we impeach thoſe political offenders at the head of the nation, let us not paſs ſilently by the *body* of the nation which ſupports the head."

Here it ſeems, according to your ideas of things, the head and body of the nation are a faction. And why, is it becauſe you and a few others, in your own view, are of more conſequence than "the body of the nation?" This is characteriſtic of your ſermons in general. Who can agree with you in ſentiment? Do foreign nations believe the head and body of this to be a faction, and with this view have they been treating with us for eight years paſt, and have a proſpect of doing it for at leaſt four years to come? I pity your children in view of that chagrin they will experience in reading your ſermons, when we ſhall be no more.

With regard to that ſtale, but prominent ſentiment contained in your ſermons, that the late adminiſtration poſſeſſed a ſpirit of partiality in favour of France and hoſtility to England; I do not think it neceſſary to quote much of your language expreſſive of it. Page 4th, you, ſpeaking of the late Preſident ſay, "he has been devoted to France and hoſtile to England." And page 13th, "But we ask, when did we as a nation ob-

tain the opulence, the vaſt ſhare of opulence, which we now poſſeſs, and the millions we have loſt by our ruling attachment to France and hoſtility to England ?"

How much devotion the former Preſident and Congreſs may have ſecretly cheriſhed in their hearts to France, and what hoſtility towards England, I cannot ſay. But for evidence of any ruling attachment to one nation and hoſtility to the other, we muſt look at the public debates and acts of that Congreſs. In doing this we find in no inſtance, any law paſſed in the time of Mr. Jefferſon's adminiſtration, in the leaſt indicative of any partial devotion to France ; nor is there an inſtance where any member of Congreſs plead for, excuſed or palliated any injury they had done us. Nor in any inſtance was the late adminiſtration hoſtile to England, except you ſhould be pleaſed ſo to conſider the interdiction of their armed veſſels in our waters, in conſequence of their murder of Pierce, and their attack on the Cheſapeake. And if you ſo conſider the inhibition, remember that theſe enormities are viewed as a juſt ground for actual hoſtilities againſt England. So that if our late adminiſtration had had the leaſt deſire to have commenced a war with England, they had ſufficient reaſon for it ; and ſuch as would have excited the approbation and ſupport of the great body of our fellow-citizens, in conjunction with the approbation of all foreign nations. Where, Sir, do you find ground for charging our nation with partiality towards France, when the contrary is acknowledged by the Britiſh Parliament, when you can point to no law of our late adminiſtration indicative of it ; when no member of Congress palliates their aggreſſions ; when no newſpaper in the Union pleads their cauſe, and no individual in the ſtreets is venting a ſigh in their favour ? But with reſpect to England, we have Congreſs men loudly proclaiming that ſhe has done us no eſſential injury ; newſpapers juſtifying her in all her aggreſſions ; Miniſters vociferating her clemency and *pity* towards us. Mark the contraſt !

Speaking of Waſhington you ſay, page 9th, " He knew Virginia, and gave us needful counſel, in what manner to eſcape approaching danger and national ruin." Is it poſſible, Dr. that you would be willing to inſtil the ſentiments contained in this ſentence, in the minds of your " mixed aſſembly," and of the public, if it were in your power ſo to do ? The ſentiment is, that Waſhington knowing Virginia to poſſeſs ſome evil quality, or circumſtance dangerous to our national proſperity " gave us needful counſel in what manner to eſcape approaching danger and national ruin."

You certainly could not mean to convey this idea. If you did, where is it found ? It is not found in his valedictory addreſs, nor in any of his writings which have yet come to public view. Did he point out what his knowledge of Virginia diſcovered in them, ſo dangerous to our proſperity and tending to national ruin ? Did he ſee in Virginia a great partiality for France, and a treaſonable combination forming with the Emperor ; and therefore, " Give us needful counſel." Or did he diſcover in the Virginians an haughty ſpirit of domination ; and on that account " Give us needful counſel ?" Or did he ſee in them a laviſh prodigal diſpoſition, and influenced thereby, " give us needful counſel;" leſt they ſhould ſquander away the public money, millions in one place and millions in another ? Why have the people never heard of the weighty counſel of the departed hero ; on theſe, or ſome other quality predicable,

ſolely of Virginia, tending to national ruin, and have been on their guard? It is believed there is no ſuch thing in exiſtence, as Waſhington's giving "us needful counſel in what manner to eſcape approaching danger and national ruin," merely from his knowledge of Virginia. But as Virginia is one of the moſt important States in the Union, as to population and wealth, the moſt candid interpretation of your declaration, that I can think of, is, that you made uſe of Virginia in a ſynedoche, a part, or one State taken, or mentioned for the whole. Then the fair meaning of your declaration is, that Waſhington knew not only Virginia, but Maſſachuſetts and all the States generally, and gave us needful counſel how to eſcape approaching danger and national ruin. If this, Sir, be your meaning, it is contained in Waſhington's valedictory addreſs. He was not unapprehenſive that evil might ariſe from turbulent, diſcontented, ambitious and factious ſpirits, in whatever part of the Union they might exiſt. And with an accuracy, equal to the ſpirit of ancient propheſy, hath he warned and counſelled us of what we have recently experienced in this Commonwealth; and deſcribed in what you call, in page 7th, "The numerous legal meetings and conventions of the people, which have proved abſolutely requiſite to put a check at leaſt, to the daring ſtrides of adminiſtration." This is your language; but that of Waſhington in oppoſition is, "All obſtructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and aſſociations, under whatever plauſible character, with the real deſign to direct, controul, *counteract*, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the conſtituted authorities, are deſtructive to the Conſtitution, and of fatal tendency." It was not only the real deſign of your numerous meetings and conventions to counteract and controul the conſtituted authorities; but they have, you ſay, "Put a check at leaſt to the daring ſtrides of adminiſtration." Thus are you and your meetings and conventions at variance with Waſhington; and ſo plainly does he condemn your conduct, as deſtructive to the Conſtitution, and of fatal tendency. Will not modeſty hereafter forever prevent you and your factious party, from conſidering yourſelves the political followers of Waſhington?

But whether you will concede to the judgment of the venerable Waſhington or not, with reſpect to the fatal tendency and deſtructive conſequences of the numerous meetings and conventions, which have "Put a check at leaſt to the daring ſtrides of adminiſtration," I will indulge myſelf in a few obſervations in regard to the tendency of your Sermons.

1ſt. They have a tendency, and are well calculated, ſo far as they gain credence, to alienate the affections of the northern from the ſouthern States; to deſtroy confidence, create jealouſy, and diſſolve the band of Union.

2d. They are calculated to make the New-England States feel that it would be much better for them, to have no connection with the ſouthern men, who, you ſay, muſt rule; and to cleave to England, for you aſſert, "While Old England and New-England mutually ſupport religion and commerce, France and her American adherents cannot prevail."

3d. Your Sermons are well adapted to keep the public mind in an alarm and agitation; as if to weary the people out of their choice of a repreſentative form of government, and prepare them for a Monarchy; and conſequently a union of Church and State.

4th. Your Sermons are calculated, as if adapted for the purpoſe of exciting the people not only to violate the laws of the land; but to riſe in arms, in rebellion againſt our national government. You explicitly de-

nounce ſome of our national laws as being unjuſt and oppreſſive, and in page 11th, that "thoſe ought not to be obeyed." To ſay to the people, that certain laws ought not to be obeyed, is the ſame as to tell them they ought not to obey them. You have reference to unjuſt, unconſtitutional laws; but how ſhall they be known to be ſuch, except you or ſome other perſon be conſulted? This is giving the people to the wind.

You, ſpeaking of that portion of men which was raiſed and organized, and ſtood ready for any emergency when called for, obſerve, page 7th and 8th, "It was the ſeaſonable exertion of the people, which prevented the raiſing and organization of thoſe armies, which were intended to ſtill us by the ſword and the loſs of blood." Then, as if ſome wonderful deliverance had been experienced, you add, "Bleſſed be God, we do not ſee them, and were they now organized, they could not be quartered in New England. We have no room for their tents." "The land will not hold them." This language is truly aſtoniſhing, Doctor. The men of whom you ſpeak, were principally if not wholly organized. And dare you ſay that if theſe men had been called to take their ſtand in New-England, for the execution of the laws of the land, or for the defence of our national rights, that "we have no room for their tents"? And in language like this, call the people to reſiſt by the force of arms? This is aſking the people in loud and intelligible language to riſe in arms, in rebellion, againſt our conſtituted authority! But I believe, Sir, you muſt call oftener, and with more energy, before you will get out a Dog to move his tongue againſt our lawful authority. The yeomanry in the *New-England States*, who are now in the habit of bearing arms, would ſoon find, if there were any occaſion for it, ample room for any tents our government might need, for the prompt execution of our laws, or the defence of our national rights.

5thly, Your Sermons have a tendency to deſtroy religion and morality. They keep up the old tune of Jefferſon and infidelity; which has been ſung by federaliſts not only in newſpapers, but in large public aſſemblies; not to augment the ſpirit of devotion in any; but to quench it in thouſands. This has been a greater detriment to religion among us, than the Age of Reaſon, and all other deiſtical writings. Publications of the tenor of your Sermons degrade and weaken the influence of the chriſtian miniſtry. The people feel that ſuch publications are pleading the cauſe of England in all her aggreſſions againſt the rights of this country. And when things ſo palpably untrue, and inconſiſtent are handed to them from the pulpit and the preſs, it genders a diſtruſt of their veracity and honeſty as men; and proportionably diminiſhes their reverence and reſpect for their perſons, and conſequently for the religion they preach. When miniſters are diſpoſed to come forward and traverſe the political field, and condemn thoſe public meaſures which are approved by a vaſt majority of the nation, and criminate and ſlander our rulers, they will be confronted by thouſands of the yeomanry, who know as much about public men and meaſures as they do. This has deſtroyed the influence of miniſters in this Commonwealth more than all their other imprudencies. What impreſſion muſt your Sermons have on the preſent and future generations, when they contain ſuch high and criminating charges againſt our rulers, without clear and condemning evidence, ſuch as ſhall ſink and remove them forever as traitors, in the eſtimation of the people. Your Sermons are calculated to lead forward the riſing generation, not only in the paths of ſlander and defamation generally, but embolden

them to ſpeak evil of dignities, and to curſe the rulers of God's people. What influence muſt they have upon tender and forming minds, when they read them proceeding as they do, from one to whom they are accuſtomed to look up, as to their ſpiritual Father, and director to eternal life? And not only the young; but thoſe who are more advanced in years; how ready are they to catch and practice an example congenial to their corrupt hearts, when they have a precedent which they are not aſhamed to name? What perplexity and wonder will after generations experience, when they ſhall read the higheſt criminating charges againſt our rulers, we living under a periodical elective Government, and nothing in the hiſtory of our nation to ſubſtantiate any juſt ground for them; but every thing to the contrary? Such publications have a tendency to deſtroy repreſentative governments in this and future ages. And if Repreſentative, or Republican Governments muſt let paſs with impunity, ſuch unboundedly inflammatory, ſeditious, treaſonable, and falſe publications, to the diſturbance of ſociety, and the corruption of the morals of mankind, no matter how ſoon they are annihilated from the earth. I would lift up both hands for it, and ſay of Waſhington and Franklin, and a hoſt of Heroes and Stateſmen who achieved our Independence, and formed our Conſtitutions of Government, that they were actuated by a ſpirit of Idiotiſm.

I am not unawares, Sir, that the publication of this letter may cauſe unpleaſant things to be ſaid of me, by thoſe who are accuſtomed to ſubſtitute them for argument; but as ſome of my brethren preach and publiſh ſuch things as your Sermons contain; I think I may be indulged in taking notice of them in a manner, not to diſturb mixed worſhipping aſſemblies of God's people. I am determined not to take notice of any anonymous publication, or newſpaper paragraphs.

I am Rev. Sir, with due reſpect, your humble Servant,

SOLOMON AIKEN.

Rev. S. Spring, D.D. Newburyport.

Dracutt, July 17, 1809.

1 Blue 20

Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process.
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: May 2010

PreservationTechnologies
A WORLD LEADER IN COLLECTIONS PRESERVATION
111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 011 839 100 7